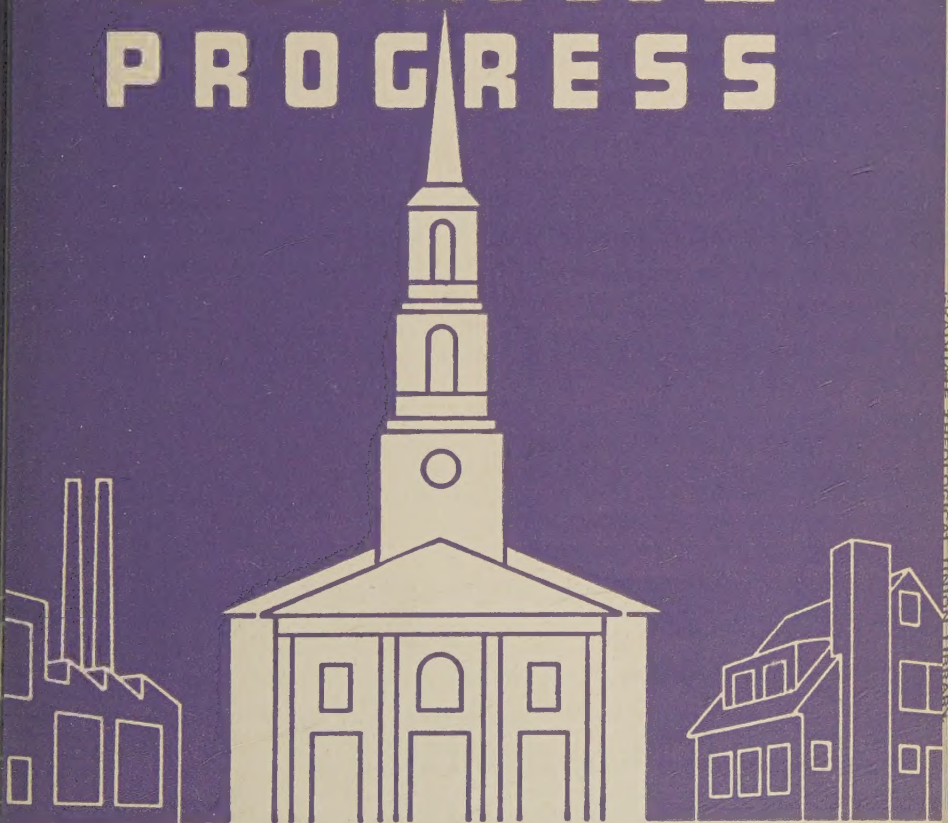


# SOCIAL PROGRESS



the Peace Be Won?  
Worship Church of All Peoples  
The Issues Behind the Strike News

NOVEMBER 1945

# SOCIAL PROGRESS

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CAMERON P. HALL, *Editor*

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## Social Progress

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# *Will the Peace Be Won?*

*By Walter W. Van Kirk \**

CAN the war be won? The answer is, "Yes." But will the peace be won? That depends upon the Governments and peoples of the United Nations.

As I write these words the Council of Foreign Ministers is concluding its sessions in London. High hopes had been entertained that the council would reach agreement on certain issues of crucial importance to the peace of Europe. This agreement, unhappily, was not forthcoming. Differences of opinion developed with respect to the Italian peace settlement, the acceptability of the governments of certain Balkan countries, the implementing of the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Organization, and kindred matters. The result of all this appeared to be a tendency to project in Europe two spheres of influence—the Russian in Eastern Europe and the British-American in Western Europe. This is an alarming state of affairs. There is no use closing one's eyes to the threatened revival of the balance of power theory in the relations of nations. It was not for this that the war was fought and won.

Of course, differences of opinion in this and subsequent meetings of

the Council of Foreign Ministers and of the United Nations Organization itself are to be expected. We are in the early stages of the aftermath of the most catastrophic war in history. The wounds occasioned by the war cannot and will not be quickly healed. The social, political, and economic structure of many nations has collapsed, or nearly so. There is a residuum of prewar uneasiness caused by the failure of the League of Nations.

It must also be remembered that too many newspaper correspondents are tempted to blow up minor disputes in international negotiations until they assume the proportions of an earth-shaking crisis. The people of our Churches must be on their guard lest they be misled by irresponsible gossip in the press and on the air. Even so, there was certainly lacking at the September meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers that spirit of give and take and that renunciation of narrowly conceived national interests so indispensable to the creation of a new world order. The public has been shocked by this display of power politics and the seeming inability of the top-ranking diplomats of the United Nations to reach even tentative agreements on the settlements with which the war is to be liquidated.

\* Executive Secretary, Department of International Justice and Good Will, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.



To all this must be added the confusion of the American mind, resulting from the lack of a clarification of policy on the part of our own Government. The question of our participation in the United Nations Organization was settled when the Senate ratified the San Francisco Charter. Much less certain and forthright is our policy with respect to the nature of the peace for the maintenance of which the United Nations Organization has been projected. Do we know what we want, where we are going, and why? A stronger leadership in Washington will be required than has yet been forthcoming if this question is to be answered and in the right way.

There is also the question of relief and rehabilitation. With the termination of the war too many of our people expect an overnight return to the normalcy of balloon tires and beefsteaks. There is grave danger that during the coming winter the chaos of social unrest resulting from widespread hunger and economic deprivation will be added to the chaos incident to the war itself. A durable peace can't be established upon the bones of starving men, women, and children. Just as the war had to be paid for in the hard coin of sacrifice, so too the peace must be paid for in a similar currency. What does our Government propose to do about this matter of relief? Have we lost faith in United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

Administration? If not, what are we prepared to do to meet the immediate emergency of human needs the world over? There is no clear answer to this question, partly because of the failure of American citizens, as individuals, to make up their minds. We can't have our own cake and eat it too. We can't fill our own stomachs unmindful of the hunger that threatens millions of God's children and expect that by some miracle God will bring international order out of social chaos. Bread is as indispensable to world peace as charters and treaties.

Then there is the atomic bomb. This lethal weapon hangs like a sword of Damocles over peoples and nations everywhere. Unless Governments will concert their moral energies to outlaw the use of this bomb or, failing that, will effect some form of rigid international control over the production of atomic power used in bombs, the peace won at so great a sacrifice will be an uneasy peace.

Conflicting policies at the highest levels of statesmanship, the seeming lack in Washington and other capital cities, of a clearly defined strategy for the winning of the peace, unmet human needs that could quickly lead to the complete breakdown of political and social structures in many areas, and the restiveness and fear engendered by the discovery and use of atomic bombs—these are among the disturbing fac-

tors in the current international situation which cause one to wonder whether World War II may not be followed by yet another and even more devastating Armageddon.

It is believed that many Americans, driven to despair by these untoward developments, are again becoming isolationist in their thinking. There is literally no hope for ourselves or for the world in this direction. We tried isolation once. It didn't work. It never will work. There do not exist, nor can there be created, the military establishments adequate to safeguard the peace of the United States in a world at war. Moreover, for Christians, American aloofness from the community of nations is morally indefensible. All this lends added significance to the world order movement of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and of other communions, both at home and abroad. As Christians we have highly resolved to put an end to war and to remove the curse of war from the face of the earth.

If we are to succeed in this endeavor we must do five things:

1. *We must persevere.* The crusade for peace is to be looked upon, not as a hundred-yard dash, but as a relay race in which each generation of Christians passes on to the succeeding generation the torch of a deathless purpose. If we of the Churches grow faint and weary during the early stages of the battle for

peace, there is little likelihood that the battle will be won. Power politics, national egoism, economic aggrandizement, imperialistic designs—these are forces of a pagan secularism that cannot be rendered impotent by a one- or two-year world order movement of the Churches.

2. *We must educate.* There are more than 200,000 congregations within the Protestant fellowship in this country. There are congregations within the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In how many of these Churches have study classes and discussion forums on the problem of world order been conducted? I don't know the exact number, but, whatever the number is, it is too small, far too small. The plain fact is that the people in our Churches, in the main, are either uninformed or misinformed regarding the immediate issues or the long-range dynamics related to the establishment of peace. The Churches must practice again their teaching functions. Pastors and people together must seek to understand the political, cultural, and economic implications of the resolutions adopted by their respective denominational assemblies. Otherwise we shall suffer the embarrassment of talking about something we do not understand. And clerical dogmatization resulting from an unawareness of the facts relevant to a given situation is both ludicrous and dangerous.



3. *We must exercise our political responsibilities.* We live in a democracy. There is no mythical government that exists apart from the people. We are the Government. There should be a continuous registration in Washington and elsewhere of the convictions of Christians with respect to political decisions. Our Government must be kept constantly informed regarding the best thought of the Christian community on the manner in which the duties assigned to the United Nations Organization are to be discharged.

What have Christians said about the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organization? the proposed Commission on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms? the Economic and Social Council? the provisions of the Charter for the reduction of armaments? The likelihood is that very little has been said. How will the Government know what Christians think about these matters unless the voices of both pulpit and pew are heard in Washington?

4. *We must give of our material substance in the work of relief and rehabilitation.* We must support the efforts of Government through such agencies as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the World Food and Agriculture Conference, that the hungry may be fed, the naked clothed, and the homeless housed. The best-laid

plans of statesmen may come to grief if unmet human needs lead to the social disintegration of the human family. The peace of the world can not be purchased at a bargain counter of a political department store. The peace of the world is something that must be paid for in the currency of sacrifice and sharing.

5. *It is for the Churches to stress God's purpose for the world of nations.* This purpose cannot be fulfilled short of a spiritual reformation of global dimensions. General MacArthur has seen the need of this. After the surrender of Japan he said: "The problem [of world order] basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advance in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural developments of the past two thousand years. It must be of the spirit, if we are to save the flesh." Or, as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has said: "The will to co-operate requires, as its foundation, a new international morality. Without this the structure of the peace will rest on shifting sands. The building of a better world order under God's providence requires better men and women. Herein is to be found the principal challenge to the Churches. It is for us of the Churches to take up this challenge.

# *The Strategy of Christendom*

*By Alexander Miller \**

FROM one point of view it is extremely difficult to plot strategy in these days for the Church, or for any other group, for strategy depends on prophecy. You can't plot a course unless you know with reasonable certainty what lies ahead, and difficult as that was a few weeks ago, it is doubly difficult since the atomic bomb blew all "reasonable certainties" to incommensurable dust.

Since this sense of the unpredictable took hold of us there has been a tendency for the Church to draw in upon itself. The phrase which has become current in Europe and Britain, "Let the Church be the Church," is partly a reaction to general uncertainty. It is an attempt to establish one sure rock in a universal quicksand. But it is not only that. It is also a reaction from the tendency in these last generations to let the Church become undistinguishable from a variety of progressive movements toward human solidarity and community. Early in the German Church struggle one of its leaders told us: "No opposition from without can harm the Church. The worst that could happen to the Church would be that it should cease to understand itself." There is something entirely valid in this in-

sistence that the Church's ultimate security depends not on circumstance but on being true to its own nature, but while it is true that the integrity of the Church is its final justification and security, the mood out of which we are told to "let the Church be the Church" is often a mood of reaction, quietism, and escapism—a mood that needs to be examined. For example, in Britain it has become apparent that the main tradition of Protestant Christendom is losing ground. The Roman Catholic Church is gaining numbers, or at least holding those it had; the sects are growing, but there is deep concern in the main Protestant denominations about a fall in numbers and a general waning of influence. In this situation there are both good reasons and bad for having the Church concern itself, first of all, with its own integrity. There is the feeling, on the one hand, that most of the weakness of contemporary Protestantism is due to its failure to define its own distinctive nature and message "over against" all the natural communities of men. On the other hand the thing is a defense measure. We don't quite know what our impact on the world ought to be or how to attack, so we adopt hedgehog or porcupine tactics and let the world do its worst.

\* Canadian Work Camp Committee.



Britain shows another kind of response to the contemporary challenge. There are thoroughgoing enthusiasts strong for the view that the ills of the Church are due to its weakness in one or other department of its life. One would guess that it is largely a matter of temperament that makes the difference, but there are groups concerning themselves with the revival of Church life either in theology, in worship, in the practice of community, or in the proclamation and practice of "social Christianity." It is worth looking at these in turn.

In the field of theology obviously we have suffered from confusion. The pulpit does not speak with anything like a united voice. Church teaching lacks coherence and continuity. If men move from one Church to another, the impression they get is of general chaos. So we find groups in all denominations concerned with theological revival, the most influential of them holding to a "High Church" or "neo-orthodox" line, under the influence either of traditional Anglican theology or of Reformation protestantism.

Another understandable reaction to the present situation is the body of devotional groups and orders. The confusion which some notice in doctrine is obvious also in liturgy and worship. There is no pattern of devotional life. Public worship has gone haywire. So each denomination has its liturgical movement,

sometimes antiquarian but more often concerned with a vital order of worship that will really "edify"; which will at once do honor to God and build up the people to understand their faith and to perform their duty. Then too there is a widespread growth of informal groups practicing a variety of devotional techniques and disciplines, all aimed at the deepening of spiritual life in the soul and in the Church.

During the war years especially there has been an immense growth in the experimental practice of community. Pacifist Christians especially have been forced out of the normal texture of Church and social life to earn their living on the land, but the community movement which was led by Max Plowman until his death and by John Middleton Murry, is more than a practical measure to meet the difficulties of pacifists in wartime. It is a positive attempt to create the kind of Christian solidarity which the Church so blatantly lacks, and to build a Christian pattern of life which in all its range will embody not acquisitiveness but co-operation.

And finally, there are those who want to redeem the Church from its weakness by leading it in direct attack on social evil. They want radical pronouncements and positive policies about *political and economic matters*. The Council of Clergy and Ministers for Common Ownership, the Socialist Christian



League, the movement stemming from the Malvern Conference—these and other groups of the kind want to give the Church a positive political orientation of a progressive kind.

So we have two types of reaction to present problems: first, the tendency to insist that the Church's essential business is to be itself, an attitude which tends to breed quietism and timidity and positive programs; and secondly, the tendency to sheet home the ills of the Church to one specific and departmental weakness, which has the effect of breeding sectional groups which bring together people of similar temperamental enthusiasms. The first tendency seems to me to have its starting point right, but to tend toward carelessness about the outreach of the Church into secular society; the sectional character of the second threatens the organic life of the Church.

The great need is for the kind of Church statesmen who can see the Church steadily and see it *whole*. The man who is passionate about theology but cares nothing about community is a bad servant of the Church, since his witness makes for distortion and not for integrity. The man who is an enthusiast for social action and cares nothing for liturgy will find his social action leading him to error and running into sand. What is most desperately needed is an organic renewal of the

very life of the Church, in the *totality* of its life.

The theologian who knows his business will make it his incessant concern to show what the demands of God's will are, not only on the preacher going about his special business, but on the Christian community in the practice of its common life, and on the Christian citizen who goes out to his calling in the secular and political order. The liturgiologist who knows *his* business will know that his concern is not with a barren "purity" of worship, but with an ordered liturgy which in its proportion and variety, its harmony and vitality, its loyalty to valid tradition and alertness to contemporary fact, will fertilize the life of the Church and be both an honor to God and a directive for Christian practice.

But our special concern in this article is with the practice of the Church in community and the outreach of the Church into society. So we turn to that now, always on the understanding that we are not turning *away* from theology and liturgy, because Christian social activity makes no sense and bears no fruit except as the expression of the organic life of the believing and worshipping community.

The life of the Church in community, and the outreach of the Church into society—these two belong together, but they need to be

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# *The Evangelical Church in Germany*

*By Martin Niemoeller \**

*Since the above article was written the Treasura Conference of the Evangelical Church in Germany has been held. At this conference co-operative relationships were established between Pastor Niemoeller and Bishop Wurm who is mentioned in this article. At that conference Niemoeller was elected head of the department of Ecumenical Relations of the Evangelical Church.*

THE Evangelical Church in Germany consists of a large number of "Provincial Churches" (*Landeskirchen*), of which the Evangelical Provincial Church of the Old Prussian Union is by far the largest and most important. The individual Provincial Churches differ greatly from one another, both in their faith—Lutheran, United, and Reformed—and in their constitution; and therefore it was not possible until 1933 to unite these Churches otherwise than in a somewhat loose confederation, the German Evangelical Church Union. All these Churches, however, are constituted on a synodal basis; that is, their highest legislative power rests with a synod consisting partly of clergy and partly of lay members.

When Hitler came to power in 1933, he wanted to create an instrument, by means of an Evangelical Reich Church on a uniform basis, which should serve the aims of the Nazi party. For this purpose he sent

his Fifth Column, the so-called "German Christians," into the Churches and forced the latter to re-elect their synodical bodies. In the case of Provincial Churches he held back, because he believed that they would co-operate with his Church without any difficulty. Outwardly these Churches remained untouched, and were later known as "Intact Churches" — Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hannover. Their constitutional condition has remained the same as before 1933 up to the present day, except that the synodal re-elections, and so forth have been omitted. In other Provincial Churches the ecclesiastical leadership was transferred, with the help of the party and the new electoral measures contrary to Church constitution, to new synods, which bore a predominantly German Christian character but which met *only once*, to elect "bishops" and appoint new Church officials. In the Church struggle these Churches came to be known as "Destroyed Churches." As a matter of fact, the Intact Churches agreed, after com

\* This signed article was written by a captain in the American Army of Occupation in Germany on the basis of personal talks with Pastor Niemoeller, made possible in the course of the captain's military duties.



siderable wavering and hesitation, to live together with the Nazi Churches in a kind of armistice and to yield continually to the demands of the Nazi Government. Bishop Marahrens, of Hannover, in particular, called again and again for peace and obedience to the Hitler regime in the Church; but, owing to pressure from the Gestapo, Württemberg and Bavaria finally came so far as to dissociate themselves from the Church circles that were putting up resistance and, for example, arranged services to pray for peace after 1939 (Bishop Wurm and Bishop Meiser).

The struggle was first taken up by the clergy. As early as 1933 the Pastors' Emergency League arose under my leadership, which practically shattered Hitler's efforts to found a uniform Reich Church. Out of a total of 14,000 active Evangelical pastors, 9,000 joined, whereas the German Christians numbered only 1,500 to 2,000; and a remaining 3,000 to 3,500 ministers remained neutral and later, to all intents and purposes, carried on Hitler's business.

At the beginning of 1934 the movement of the *Bekennende Kirche* (Niemoeller Church) began, which started reconstruction beginning from below, in the parishes of the Destroyed Churches. The Confessional Church, however, was attacked, not only by the Nazis and the German Christians, but of late years also by the Intact Churches.

At the end of the Hitler regime the German Evangelical Church formed by the German Christians, comprising all the Provincial Churches, consisted of only one authoritative body, the German Evangelical Church Council. Originally it was under the Reich bishop, Mueller, of whom, however, nothing was heard after 1934; most of the members of the governing body were neutrals, after the German Christians as well as the Reich bishop had become impossible, as the result of the Confessional Church's resistance. These neutrals—they might also be called the Middle Party—avoided making any decisions and simply carried out the orders of the Nazi Church ministry. As they had large financial means at their disposal, in practice they represented considerable power. At present the Church Council, or what is left of it, is said to be endeavoring to place its seat in Frankfurt and to continue its baneful activities. In the methods used at present it might actually succeed.

### Consideration of This Position

1. The German Christians belong to the past; they were all members of the party, and as such they disappear from public and ecclesiastical life. Some of them, who return to a belief in Christianity, will be able to be used in the future, after thorough investigation. At all events these people are capable of standing for a conviction, and if

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# *Linked with Suffering Through Science*

*By Howard W. Alexander \**

TWO years ago at the University of Minnesota was born the idea of an experiment that might materially lessen the suffering of the starving peoples of Europe. It originated in the course of scientific studies with a group of conscientious objectors who were serving as human "guinea pigs" in a series of nutritional experiments. The general scheme was worked out by some of the subjects and scientists who were in charge of the experimental program. It is perhaps significant that the launching of the project came at a time when the possibility of direct service in Europe was closed by an act of Congress forbidding conscientious objectors to do relief work among the victims of the war. A door had been closed to them; the response on the part of these men was to open another one.

The idea was this: The lives of millions in Europe, perhaps in Asia, will depend upon the intelligent use of the shipping space that is available, and the wise distribution of the food that first reaches areas of starvation. While there have been field observations of starving peoples by doctors and administrators who have worked among them, there

has been virtually no scientifically controlled study of the effects of prolonged starvation and of the most efficient means available for the restoration of seriously undernourished persons. Could not a group of conscientious objectors volunteer as guinea pigs for a carefully controlled experiment in semi-starvation? There were many obstacles to be surmounted: the experiment would be a very expensive one; its hazards could be estimated only by those who had considerable experience with such conditions; it would be impossible to be sure that enough men would volunteer for so demanding an experiment if they were made thoroughly aware of what lay before them.

A year later the scientific and administrative details were finally resolved. Financial assistance was provided by the Church of the Brethren and three other denominations, as well as several scientific and medical foundations. An appeal was sent to men in Civilian Public Service, and many more men volunteered than could be used. Thirty-six men were finally selected, not only on the basis of their physical suitability for the experiment, but also for their interest in training for relief and reconstruction work abroad as soon as permissible.

\* Unit of Civilian Public Service, University of Minnesota.



Collaboration has marked the experiment in all its aspects. The original idea was the collaborative achievement of the scientists and their human subjects. The administration of the undertaking has demanded co-operation between the service committees of the contributing denominations and the scientific staff of the laboratory. In addition to their program of laboratory testing and the various duties they perform in the laboratory, the men are carrying on an educational program centering on the relief activities that will be necessary after the war. Visiting speakers present the technical side of relief operations; faculty members of the university give historical, social, and economic background; the scientists of the laboratory lecture on medical and nutritional aspects of rehabilitation; and the men themselves, from direct experience, fill in vivid personal details of the suffering attendant upon starvation.

Co-operative scientific research has been the credo of the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene from its inception. Under the direction of Dr. Ancel Keys, the whole range of human physiological and psychological activity is simultaneously studied by a staff consisting of physiologists, psychologists, biochemists, and physicians. In the course of the experiment, several hundred different kinds of measurements are made periodically, rang-

ing from electrocardiograms and blood-volume measurements to intellectual and attitude testing, and psychiatric interviews. Already it is abundantly clear that the psychological aspects of undernourishment often loom much larger than the strictly physiological aspects—a fact which carries important implications for relief operations.

The experiment began in November, 1944, with a three-month standardization period during which body weight was stabilized and measurements were obtained to provide “controls” for similar measurements at various stages of starvation and rehabilitation. Then followed a six-month period of semistarvation, during which the intake of food was cut to a maximum of 1,800 calories per day (as compared with 3,200 during the standardization period), while energy output was maintained by means of long walks and periods on the mechanical treadmill in the laboratory. It was estimated that each man would lose from 20 to 30 per cent of his weight during this period.

The diet during this period consisted principally of items that would be obtainable in famine areas: bread, potatoes, turnips, beans, and macaroni. It was found that the individual men responded somewhat differently to the reduced diet. Some lost weight easily, while others seemed to subsist on very lit-

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# Fellowship Church of All Peoples

By Thomas H. Simpson \*

THE Church in America has often been accused of being our outstanding Jim Crow institution. Even in the North and West where there has been no racial segregation in schools, playgrounds, public vehicles, libraries, or stores, there has been an almost universal pattern of race segregation in the Church. Dr. Charles Johnson, noted sociologist of Fisk University, has said, "The Church is the most completely segregated institution in America." In a recent magazine article Pearl Buck said, "The criticism of the Church which the world makes today is that organized religion preaches the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and does not practice these teachings."

Mrs. Buck and the other critics would grant, of course, that there

are exceptions to the trends they condemn. One of the most notable of these began a little over two years ago in San Francisco. A young Presbyterian minister of that city, Dr. Alfred G. Fisk, chairman of the Department of Psychology and Philosophy at the San Francisco State College, so forgot the established pattern of our social mores as to propose a Church based on the principles of Christian brotherhood.

War industries around the city had drawn Negro migrants in large numbers into the area, suddenly increasing by some 400 per cent the Negro population which had reached some sort of *modus vivendi* in adjusting to the community at large. Tensions increased. Problems of housing, police brutality, discrimination in public services, and others mounted. Rumors spread. People

\* Representative of presbytery in matters pertaining to Fellowship Church.





were afraid to go into the "Negro community."

It was then that Dr. Fisk came forward with the suggestion of organizing an interracial Church along new lines. "Not a Church run by whites *for* Negroes," said Dr. Fisk, "or one that merely will make Negroes welcome; but a Church established by and for all groups."

Dr. Fisk felt that the organizing and planning group should from the first be interracial. "Ours is a conscious, creative effort to build *together*," he says. "It is not the contribution of two groups added together; it is the fusion of peoples into a single group, and that group's expression of the Christian imperative."

An important feature of this shared participation is the copastor arrangement of leadership. From the very first there have been two pastors—one white, the other Negro. They have absolute equality of status and alternate in all functions of the ministry. One preaches one

Sunday; the other, the next. The one who does not preach leads the worship, so that in each service there is shared participation.

The Church itself is interracial in all its organizations—the primary department, the young people's society, the choir, Sunday School staff, and the Church boards. Members of the two races, unconscious of color, work together and mingle freely. They sit with one another, share hymnbooks, talk together after meetings—and like it.

When asked whether there had been any trouble concerning the interracial basis of his project, Dr. Fisk replied: "We have had all sorts of problems and an enormous amount of hard work, but we have had no trouble concerning the racial issue. In the young people's society our socials and folk dancing have gone without a hitch, and our fellowship dinners are just like family gatherings."

So far the Fellowship Church has kept an even balance in its constituency—about the same number of



whites and Negroes with some Filipinos, Mexicans, and Japanese-Americans as they return to the West Coast. The Church secretary of Fellowship Church is a Nisei, born of Japanese ancestry.

Dr. Howard Thurman, the dean of the Chapel at Howard University and one of the leading Negroes of the nation, declared that the plan of this Church seemed to him "the most significant single step that institutional Christianity is taking in the direction of a really new order for America." Indeed, so significant did he feel it to be that he has taken a year's leave of absence from Howard University and is now co-pastor with Dr. Fisk of the Fellowship Church.

The coming of Dr. Thurman has given national significance to the project. He is one of the rare minds of our generation, a creative and original thinker of the first order. He speaks with dramatic power and inimitable persuasiveness, is known throughout the nation, and is in constant demand as a conference leader and lecturer in universities and colleges. A reporter from a national magazine who came to investigate the project said, "Anything that can take Dr. Thurman across the continent must be important."

An illustration of the kind of thing Fellowship Church stands for is seen in the fellowship camp for children conducted for over eight

weeks last summer in the midst of this overcrowded, bad-housing section of the city. The "camp" program was held at the Church—with an artificial campfire, but with "real" campfire songs, stories, camp crafts, and hikes.

"The theme of our camp and its program was built around what we called adventures in friendship," says Dr. Fisk. "Our purpose was to deepen the interest of the children in other peoples and other races, to feed this interest with authentic factual materials, and to give the children the personal experience of appreciating the art, music, and cultural objects of other peoples. We wanted to prove that these youngsters could and would get along together in perfect harmony and might even build lifelong barriers against bigotry and acquired prejudices."

The parents of the children who attended are white and Negro American, Mexican, and Filipino, both Protestant and Catholic.

Each morning in their fellowship hour around the campfire, these children learned something of the cultural and spiritual contributions to American life of some of our nation's minority groups—the American Indian, the Mexican, the Filipino, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Jew, and the Negro. In the afternoons the children were taken on a series of explorations in cosmopolitan San Francisco in order to see and



understand some of the factors and places that make this not only a great but a most fascinating city. The youngsters certainly enjoyed it, and one feels sure that from now on every one of them will be less subject to the pernicious influences of racial and religious prejudice.

The camp staff was an interracial group of college young people engaged in a "summer work project" under two directors, one a Negro and the other white. Hot lunches were served daily to the children by an interracial group of women, the major cost of the food being paid by the Warehousemen's Union, Local No. 6. At the close of the camp one ten-year-old wrote, "I will be glad when the Japanese come back to San Francisco again so that I may learn more about them."

The need in a certain Negro family for someone to care for two small children, while the mother went to the hospital to have another child, was announced from the pulpit. A white couple in the Church with one child of their own volunteered postponing their own vacation to do so. The coming of the Negro children caused a sensation, not to say consternation among the neighbors in the exclusive neighborhood in which they lived; and one neighbor complained to the man's employer, saying that the company should know the outrageous conduct of its employee.

For two weeks, however, the members of Fellowship Church witnessed to their convictions; and they say that both they and the neighborhood children had a wonderful time with their Negro guests.

After Fellowship Church had been functioning quietly for nearly a year, it was decided to hold a large public Sunday-afternoon service and to invite the members of other Churches. The near-by Unitarian Church was borrowed for the occasion. The service was attended by prominent people from all over the Bay area and greetings were tendered by the

Council of Churches and other groups. The copastors of Fellowship Church interpreted the venture in Christian fellowship to the community; a Jewish rabbi spoke, a Chinese gentleman read the Scripture, and a reception with refreshments and an interracial trio followed.

Much credit is due to the Presbyterian Church and its Board of National Missions for their sponsorship and generous support of this project. Institutions often move slowly, especially when widespread group prejudices are involved; but here one of the great denominations of the Protestant Church of America is taking a step in leadership that must surely have its effect upon the Church life of the nation.

When asked what kinds of people are interested in the project, Dr. Thurman replied: "Ten years ago the answer would have been a certain small segment of the population generally known as the more liberal minded. But today, individuals of many groups, classes, and occupations are interested, for even the average man who is not ordinarily much concerned with difficult social and economic problems is beginning to realize that something must be done to relieve social tension, and that it must be done now.

"Our Sunday attendance is a good cross section of the people of the San Francisco Bay area. People do not come to help the idea along, but to get their cup filled. They expect and get here a creative experience of worship."

Dr. Thurman believes that the Church more than any other institution in society can do this thing of bringing the races together on the deepest level. "If the Church misses this opportunity, the moral initiative will slip from its hands—and some other force or institution will capture the loyalty of the masses and do this thing."

# Atomic Bomb Responsibilities

By Hanson W. Baldwin \*

*In the following penetrating article, a recognized military expert links the resolution of the problem of the atomic bomb, in its relation to peace, to the moral leadership of America. Mr. Baldwin's article appeared in The New York Times, September 12, 1945. It has received wide comment, and is presented here because of its importance to the thinking of Christian men and women everywhere.*

**F**IVE weeks ago (prior to the writing of this article) the first atomic bomb ever used in warfare was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan.

In that five weeks the war has ended, reconversion is well started, troops are pouring back from overseas, some political problems—international and domestic—have been at least tentatively resolved, and the American public is gradually readjusting itself to the new dynamics of peace.

But nothing has been done about the atomic bomb!

The great surge of public awe, of overwhelming interest and international concentration, has slackened; the iron of public opinion, which was malleable, is settling now into the cold mold of the old order. What was needed to accompany the atomic bomb was some action in the political and moral and psychological fields as dramatic and as tremendous as the achievement of atomic fission. That no such action has yet been taken is the world's loss—and America's loss.

\* Military expert on *The New York Times* staff.

For the truth is that the United States has sacrificed its moral leadership of the world. Actually the first use of the atomic bomb did not mark the end—it is to be hoped the temporary end—of that leadership. The mass bombing of European cities, miscalled “precision bombing” but actually area bombing in its effects, was just as terrible for the civilian men, women, and children killed and wounded as for those blasted by the atomic bomb.

The fire attacks upon Japanese cities burned people to death fully as irrevocably as did the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb had a quantitative advantage in death and annihilation; more people were killed, more burned, more homes destroyed, but actually the moral principle involved in its use was no different from that established a thousand times before in the war.

## Moral Aspect Stressed

It may be argued with perfect validity that the Germans and the Japanese started the evil practices, and that there is no crime worse than war itself. It may also be ar-

gued that it is futile to try to make war moral; in fact, that there is a certain humanity about trying to make it so horrible that it will be ended quickly—thus saving many lives at the expense of a relative few, as in the case of Japan—or in the ultimate case by making war so annihilating and terrible that it will be made impossible.

Regardless of the validity of these arguments, in the mind of many foreigners and of a considerable number of Americans, the atomic bomb was not only a tremendous scientific achievement; it marked the end of the moral leadership of America.

It is possible that this is a mistaken conclusion; certainly our leaders are earnest men who pondered long and seriously the terrible alternatives with which the bomb confronted them. But it is certain that the United States, which has won by far the material supremacy of the world, which today is incomparably the world's most powerful nation, is not equally the world leader in the moral, political, and psychological fields.

We have, it is true, pressed the cause for international collaboration. But this is not enough; since San Francisco, the atomic bomb has changed the world as we knew it. We helped to achieve, with the atomic bomb, the aim of winning the war, but we did not go beyond the war to enlist atomic fission in the

larger task of winning of the peace.

The first great psychological surge of mixed fear and hope—fear that man had at last created a Frankenstein monster, hope that at last wars might be ended—has passed, and therefore the key moment gone, but it is not perhaps too late to enunciate a statement of principles and desires to be pressed and fought for.

We have, maybe, three to five years—perhaps more, perhaps less—before the secret of the manufacture of the atomic bomb becomes more or less world-wide. They should be years wisely used, for the opportunity will not knock again.

### Program Is Suggested

As a start, the program that might guide some of our international actions might include:

1. Retention for the time being—at least for several years—of the secrets of the atomic bomb, pending the strengthening of the United Nations Organization, better political stabilization of the world, determination of some of the outstanding problems left from the war, and progressive steps for the world-wide limitation of armaments.

2. Immediate proposals for the world-wide limitations, even at high levels, of national armies, navies, and air forces.

3. Immediate proposals for the world-wide abolition of conscription.



4. Rapid determination of the size of the armed forces to be made available to the United Nations Organization and determination of the exact role of the military staff committee; the strengthening of both, and a progressive internationalization of both as rapidly as possible; and the opening of the armed forces at the disposal of the United Nations to international enlistment.

5. Elimination of the veto power in the voting procedure of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization.

6. Eventual proposals for the outlawing of the atomic bomb. These proposals might embody a mutual agreement on the part of all signatories not to utilize atomic fission for war purposes except in retaliation. When such an agreement has been made, and when and if the United Nations Organization has

been strengthened and the above program realized, at least in part, the secret of the manufacture of the atomic bomb might be transmitted to the United Nations Organization.

Any such program as the above is fraught with difficulties so great that no easy accomplishment can be possible and our best efforts may be doomed to failure. But we must make those efforts nevertheless, if the United States is to compensate for what in the eyes of much of the world is its decline in moral leadership.

We must make those efforts too for the interest of man. Not to prevent man's annihilation, or the end of civilization, for neither is impending, but to prevent man's reversion to the dark ages and the spiritual, mental, and political loss of all that our material progress has made possible.

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*It is the irony of our false gods that the last word in science should enable us so tragically to blow the world apart. The atomic bomb gives us 20,000 times more power than we ever had before. It will be the nightmare of many a child, and cause uneasily to rest the heads of many states. At precisely the moment when we thought flight and communication would bind the world together, we have it in our hands to blast it all to bits.*

*But there are two positive possibilities in this enormous power. One is that harnessing it to production may give us such quantities of goods that no economic pattern can long deny the mass of people their just abundance. The other is that fear of the force that can blow cities apart may coerce the nations to live together. We may then have the paradox that mechanical explosives will assist in social integration.*

*Yet in the end the destiny of man is always at the mercy of those who control its source of power. At the moment that means us. Let us pray God that history will one day say of us, as it said of the first generation of Christians, "These are they that hold the world together." [Alfred Swan. In Social Action, September, 1945.]*

# V-J\*

This was the day it ended  
And the commentator and the liberal actor hoarse but heroic from all night  
vigil choked out the words.  
And the world paused and then said can it be and rang a bell.  
A hairdresser ran from her shoppe and tore some paper at the curb  
Seeking something immense and mighty in the air  
But the bits fell back against her, sadly, gently—lifted by a little wind.  
The youngster closed his lessons  
and made dizzy circles in his yard, feverish from sound of sirens.  
And the dead were counted  
And the long travail was done.  
Some felt noisy and some were quiet . . .  
Several places, celebrations were less gay  
(Manchuria, for instance—a man fell and watched his blood and  
precious life pour slowly through astonished hands)  
A few prayed and some remembered unlucky ones they knew.

I knew one named Dick and one named Morrison.  
No one of us may say of these they did not die in vain  
No man who does not live the words may say them.  
Lipservice died a paltry death on air that thunders yet  
with names of cities.  
Rotterdam—Warsaw—Coventry—yes, and Hiroshima, Hiroshima, too.  
Say it and watch the earth quiver.  
No talk. Talk does not spring from throats still bruised with grief.  
Come home now, warrior, welcome home, G.I. . . .  
*Now to us—the waiting, and the watchers, and those who prayed*  
*Now for us—the zero hour, cold flight into an unknown dawn*  
*Now to us—the moment arrives, your rich and terrible gift.*  
*It has come.*  
*We touch the wrappings and the fingers tremble*  
*having felt that hope and death lie side by side within.*  
*And so the battle finishes.*  
*And this is the beginning.*

—Loudie Claar.

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\* From *Free World*, September, 1945. Used with permission.

## **For Study— Co-operatives**

The co-operative movement began in Great Britain; there and in Scandinavia it has flourished best. This means that it had its start and its fullest growth in countries that are deeply Christian in their religious traditions, are strongly democratic in their political

life, and are dominantly free enterprises in their economic order.

The co-operative movement has found its way into the life of the United States, notably among the farmers. Agricultural co-operative organizations and mutual associations, according to a report of the Department of Agriculture, now number 19,000 and are to be found in every one of the forty-eight states. Ten thousand of these deal with the purchasing and selling of farm products and other agricultural interests are also included, among them irrigation, electrification, insurance, and telephone.

Agricultural co-operatives are built upon the assumption that certain needs of rural life can best be met through mutual self-help. Farmers are growingly aware of their needs and correspondingly concerned with ways of meeting them. What are the ways?—looking to Washington for help? private enterprise? mutual self-help? Help has been sought and found along all three of these avenues: and as farmers face postwar plans agricultural co-operatives hold a place along with the others.

The 157th General Assembly urged "the churches, rural and urban . . . in view of the importance of agriculture in our national life and economy . . . to consider and study the methods of the co-operative movement as a means by which the farmers may unite for the improvement of their own material and spiritual well-being."

The Protestant Churches have a Committee on the Church and Co-operatives of the Federal Council of Churches and in commemoration of the centennial of the co-operative movement, Dr. Benson Y. Landis, of the Council Research Department, brought out a history of the relation of the Churches to the co-operative movement, entitled *Bethlehem and Rochdale*.

**World Order Challenge** The result of the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London has been disappointing. But there are aspects in the international situation that are of a different character. Simultaneously with the meeting of the Foreign

Ministers was the Executive Committee meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organization. Its work has proceeded smoothly and with results that are advanced far beyond earlier



# *e These*

expectations. Again, developments in Asia have been perhaps the most constructive to date in the entire international scene. The agreement between Soviet Russia and China is a credit to both Governments and of tremendous advantage to peace. The subsequent understanding reached between Chungking and Yenan adds to this. And likewise the first meeting of the Food and Agricultural Organization in Quebec in October is a significant occasion in the functional approach to international co-operation. The problems immediately at hand that call for the most careful work both by public opinion and by public officials include the following:

1. The program of the United Nations with respect to Germany in the West and Japan in the East. Progress is being made along negative and repressive lines, as illustrated, for example, by the emphasis on the "de-nazification" of Germany. But if these countries are to become constructive members of the family of nations, a positive program must be inaugurated.

2. It is possible to frustrate all peace efforts through lack of adequate provision of food in the coming months. The Department of Agriculture has stated that the production of food throughout the world in the coming year will be 10 per cent lower than in the worst of the war years. In the light of the fact that there is no danger to the American consumption of food, the rapid withdrawal of rationing in this country becomes basically immoral. Each citizen can aid by communicating to the President, his Senators, and his Congressmen, in favor of the immediate voting of the United States' second appropriation to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

3. The initial phase of the first meeting of the United Nations Organization is scheduled for December, or soon thereafter. This confronts us with the immediate test of making the Organization work in keeping with its principles and objectives. If the American people are to take effective action, they must know the Charter in its strength and weakness.

4. The control of the production and use of the atomic bomb. It is here that current isolationist tendencies within the United States make their most ominous appearance. The assumption that one or two nations among the United Nations can better be trusted with this mankind-shaking instrument violates the basis of all international relationships, namely, mutual trust. The United States should be the first and most aggressive member of the United Nations, urging the latter to explore and adopt ways whereby they can control the use of the bomb in the interest of the United Nations.

# *Wage Issues Behind the Strike News*

*By Frank W. McCulloch \**

THE problems of the peace, which the President warned might be more difficult to solve than those of the war, will require calm, reasoned analysis and a full knowledge of the facts, especially in this critical field of industrial relations. Church leaders with a little effort can help the public to look beyond temporary inconvenience at the basic issues and to remember the values of human personality, of brotherhood, and of justice involved in our postwar adjustments.

First, it is well to recall that conflicts of interest and judgment are as normal in industry as in the home, or Church, or school, or government. But strikes as a method of settling these conflicts are far less common than the news reports suggest. During the war, time lost from strikes was roughly equal to one tenth of one per cent of the time worked. Less publicized losses from illnesses and accidents were far more costly. Even the absentee rate in the armed forces was higher. And now in spite of the great increase in stoppages, the percentage of strikers to nonstrikers in the nation is still extremely small. There are, to be sure, inconveniences suffered by the public. But the only

constructive course is to try to get at the causes of these disputes and to seek out statesmanlike bases of settlement before the dislocations spread.

Unquestionably the basic issue underlying the current strikes is the matter of wages. With the end of the war, hours of work that were commonly about forty-eight or more per week have been reduced to forty hours a week. Time-and-a-half pay for overtime has been eliminated by cutting out overtime work. The weekly take-home pay has thus suffered drastic cuts, while the goods and services that workers must buy for themselves and their families remain at the same high prices and indeed threaten to go even higher if certain anti-OPA lobbies have their way. Labor's current effort, then, is to restore weekly income to its wartime levels.

To aggravate the workers' worries over wages in their present jobs are the statements that there may be from eight to ten million out of work in the reconversion process about the middle of 1946. And thousands whose war-plant jobs have already ended, have shifted to other types of work where the basic pay is much lower. There is also a hang-over of discontent as unions recall the alacrity of Congress to support war

\* Director, James Mullenbach Industrial Institute, Chicago, Illinois.

time wage freezes, but to forbid President Roosevelt's proposed salary limitation of \$25,000 (net) as un-American. The long delays in many wage decisions of the War Labor Board further help to explain the determination of labor to use more direct methods now to prevent lowering of wages.

How serious these reductions in income may be for American workers and their families can clearly be seen from the examination of a few figures. Despite exaggerated reports of war-inflated wages, the average weekly earnings for all manufacturing industries in June, 1945 (the latest figures available), were only \$46.35. For some of the durable-goods industries the rate was somewhat higher (iron and steel, \$51.17; automobile, \$55.64; electrical machinery, \$48.52), but for most of the nondurable-goods industries the rates were, of course, much lower (textile mill products, \$31.71; food, \$39.97; apparel, \$31.26). In nonmanufacturing industries two thirds had average weekly earnings beneath the manufacturing average given above, with hotels at \$24.43 and general merchandise at \$23.60 at the bottom.

Although these wartime wages were far above prewar levels, in many cases they were not adequate to meet family needs. A union study of steelworkers' incomes in Braddock, Pennsylvania, revealed that the total family income for the

group studied averaged \$56.60 a week after taxes in January, 1945. Against this, the weekly family expenditures averaged \$57.01. So, while 55 per cent had some savings, "almost half of the Braddock steelworkers went deeply in the red."

The same report figures that the reduction to a 40-hour week would drop these steelworkers' wages from \$50.85 to \$38.38, or about 25 per cent. And in the automobile industry, estimates of the reduction in take-home pay range from 20 per cent to 30 per cent. This shrinkage drops the income per worker in these comparatively high-wage industries down toward the low level of the Government's "maintenance" or emergency cost-of-living budgets. The reductions carry the take-home pay well below the cost of living at a "health and decency standard" as developed by the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics in California (\$2,424 for a family of four at March, 1944, prices, with no allowance made in this budget for taxes or war-bond purchases).

In other trades and industries, the disparity between family needs and incomes is even greater. In the widely publicized elevator strike in New York, the operators struck to secure \$30.15 for a 40-hour week, as set by a War Labor Board panel, instead of the \$28.05 directed by the regional board. The continuing low level of many wages, even before peacetime deflation, was also



brought out sharply by a Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Claude Pepper. It estimated that of twenty-eight million workers in private non-agricultural employment two million were earning less than 40 cents an hour, over five million were being paid less than 50 cents an hour, and ten million or more received less than 65 cents an hour (equivalent to \$26 for a 40-hour week, or \$1,352 for a 52-week year).

Another study, by the Research Division of OPA, revealed that, in 1943, 30 per cent of our consumer units received less than \$1,500 (and only about 8.2 per cent of the aggregate national income) and 54 per cent of the consumer units received less than \$2,500 (and only 23 per cent of the aggregate national income). Even without contrasting these figures with the incomes in the higher levels, it is clear that in America we have not made the basic changes in our income distribution which are dictated both by justice and by reason.

A section of the Oxford Conference report some years ago suggested that "love implies the ability to read statistics with compassion." To develop their full meaning, in other words, the statistics above must be interpreted in terms of the men and women and children whose economic pictures are there revealed. The Chicago girl who was just recently transferred from a highly skilled electrical job at \$56 a week

to another at \$26, and now wondering how she is to support an invalid mother, is only one of millions who face a similar, if not equally bad prospect. And reports on the backlog of savings and war-bond purchases indicate that these just are not available in sufficient amounts to low-income groups.

In the light of these factors it is not surprising that there is great union pressure for wage adjustment to make up the losses in take-home pay. The proposed legislation to increase minimum wages to 65 cents an hour and then to 70 cents and 75 cents during the second and third years after enactment is also understandable. There are, moreover, important national considerations which make clear the need for the upward adjustment of wages.

As a result of the great expansion in plant and the increases in productive efficiency, the United States, unlike the other nations ravaged by the war, can produce goods and services in great abundance. Secretary of the Treasury Vinson recently said that our people are faced with the "predicament of having to learn to live fifty per cent better than they have ever lived before." There are only two ways of thus increasing our standard of living. One is by lowering prices. Of this there seems little immediate possibility. The OPA, already battered and torn, seems to be on its last legs. If the normalcy-bound Congressmen continue as the

have begun, the only alternative method of building up consumer buying power is to raise wages and at least seek to hold the line on prices. This is the heart of the labor drive in the current strikes. It may be one of the prime essentials for healthy reconversion and good business. Gunnar Myrdal, the brilliant Swedish sociologist whose study of American race relations is now a classic, spoke last year at this point. "By not raising wages and, even more, by reducing them, the foundation of purchasing power for full employment is withdrawn and the depression curve begins to move downward."

Leaders from management's ranks have agreed upon the need to maintain consumer buying at high levels. Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, stated last year: "It [business bankruptcy and the drop in pay rolls that followed the last war] can happen again during the postwar period of readjustment unless there is a strong effort on the part of every business to hold down its prices, utilize its productive efficiency, cut its extravagant distribution costs, and maintain its workers' incomes." A firm of management engineers, McKinsey and Company, has been reported as affirming that with a 50 per cent increase in national income above the prewar average and with competitive price levels, "industry can afford much higher wage levels than were present before the war and still have satisfactory profits for private enterprise."

The resistance to the demanded wage increases is based on management's fear that it will be unduly squeezed between higher costs and OPA price ceilings. Other costs besides wages will increase, employers point out, with the elimination of two and three shift operations. They are also uncertain about the possibility of maintaining soon in civilian production the high levels of war manufacture and hesitate to make commitments for substantial wage increases now. Some, however, have made concessions smaller than those de-

manded by the union and are negotiating as to the balance. Perhaps all are reluctant to reduce the profit margins as wage increases would require if they cannot pass on the added cost to the consumer by raising prices.

The situation is undoubtedly too complex to permit of blanket generalizations applying to all companies alike. The wage relationships even within a single plant and certainly between plants and industries and geographical areas are delicate things and must be handled with care. But so are the human beings both here and abroad whose livelihoods depend upon the economic statesmanship of the decisions being made in American industry and government today. Reports of aggregate corporate profits (up about 350 per cent before taxes above prewar levels) and of gigantic postwar reserves do appear to give support to the unions' claim that pay increases generally can be given without raising prices, although in specific instances this may not be true. The public at least should be informed more fully about industry's capacity to pay before assuming that labor's demands are shortsighted, extravagant, and greedy.

A summary of labor's principal wage objectives includes (a) wage increases to make up for the deep cuts in weekly take-home pay; (b) national legislation to raise minimum wages to 65-75 cents an hour; (c) the maintenance of price controls until goods become plentiful; and (d) the development of a guaranteed annual wage (which is worth separate treatment in another article). The general direction of the union pressure on these issues seems to be in accord with the demonstrated needs of American workers and of an American economy providing full employment. While holding both labor and management equally accountable for the effect of their strike decisions on the general welfare, intelligent public pressure may do much to bring about the wage adjustments so clearly needed.

## *World Charter—World Organization*

Ratification of the United Nations Charter means membership within the United Nations. The one is related to the other as the wedding ceremony is related to marriage. The Charter is, in effect, a pledge by the signatory nations to conduct their relations with other nations according to a mutually accepted body of commitments and responsibilities.

The following are elements in a program of study and action for developing understanding and support of such responsibilities:

### I. What is the United Nations Charter?

- A. What are the nature and character of the agreements entered into by each signatory nation?
- B. What are the principles and objectives upon which the relations of the signatory nations are to be built?
- C. What are the instruments or machinery which have been set up to achieve these principles and objectives?
- D. How far do these provisions realize Christian principles as stated in the Six Pillars of Peace, the Cleveland Church Conference Message, the Pronouncements of the General Assembly, et cetera?

### II. How will the United Nations come into existence?

We have a Charter; we do not as yet have an Organization. How is this transition to be made? What is the process by which the United Nations gains sufficient members to become constituted? What is the Interim Commission? What are the plans and expectations for the first meeting of the United Nations?

### III. What are some of the more immediate

issues which the American people will confront for decision?

- A. Those related to the organization and functioning of the United Nations itself.
  1. Appointment and determination of the powers of the United States delegate to the Security Council.
  2. Negotiation of a treaty or agreement with the Security Council with respect to the military resources of the United States.
  3. The decision for compulsory or optional jurisdiction in World Court.
  4. Support for and participation in an early meeting of the Economic and Social Council.
  5. Disposition of the islands taken from the Japanese as it relates to the trusteeship provisions of the United Nations Charter.
- B. Those related to the strengthening of the total range of international co-operation by the United Nations.
  1. Voting for membership and effective participation in, and appropriation for such international agencies as UNRRA, Bretton Woods Agreement, ILO, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Education Organization, et cetera.
- C. Those related to the working out of provisions within the Charter.
  1. The drawing up of a Bill of Human Rights.
  2. Codification and development of international law.



3. Methods for the reduction and elimination of national armaments (including peacetime conscription).

4. The Trusteeship Commission.

What will be some of the obstacles to U. S. A. participation?

A. Restrictive and limited participation rather than frontal opposition.

B. Unilateral action either on a nationalistic or hemispheric basis.

C. Economic nationalism involves considerations such as trade and currency policies, standards of living within the United States and the United Nations, et cetera.

D. Postwar settlements. Issues dealing with such matters as boundaries, treatment of criminals, reparations, et cetera, in their bearing upon conditions that make for the maintenance of peace with justice.

E. Issues regarded as "domestic."

1. Peacetime military conscription.

2. Exclusion acts.

3. Political partisanship in debates on and appointments to the United Nations.

V. What we can do.

1. Further study and action in Church and community.

2. Be alert and active in respect to enabling legislation.

3. Keep in touch with elected officials before and after election.

4. Promote the observance of "basic human rights and fundamental freedoms" in community, the nation, and throughout the world.

5. Strengthen the World Council of Churches in its local, national, and world expressions.

6. Share in the restoration and reconstruction needs of the post-war world through the Presbyterian Restoration Fund.

## POLITICAL ACTION

### *Transition to Peace*

From the legislative proposals before Congress a number of measures are noted here. These are, or should be, of particular interest to Christian citizens because of their immediate bearing on the rights, welfare, and happiness of men, women, and children throughout the nation.

It goes without saying that the status of any and perhaps all these bills will change before this page is read. Whether or not such change takes place, however, the problems which they seek to solve or the situations they are designed to create correct will still confront us. It is suggested therefore that the reader study the

questions carefully, discuss them with others, and make his considered opinion known to Congressmen as to the passage of the bill or the action of the representative in support or opposition.

#### 1. Full Employment

The Murray Bill, S. 380, popularly known as the "full employment bill" is a bipartisan bill, sponsored by Senator James E. Murray, of Montana, and seven other Senators, making four democrats and four republicans. The amended bill as passed by the Senate is what many consider a "watered down" version. This

companion bill, H.R. 2202, introduced by Wright Patman, of Texas, in the Executive Department, is now before the House Committee on Expenditures, which in some circles is considered hostile, still faces a perhaps extended period of hearings. The purpose of the bill, according to its proponents, is "to assure continuing full employment and full production in a free, competitive economy through the concerted efforts of industry, labor, and government." Moreover, the bill declares that "all Americans able to work and desiring to work have the right to useful, remunerative, regular, and fulltime employment."

## 2. Unemployment Compensation

The Kilgore Bill, S. 1274, is sponsored by Senator Harley M. Kilgore, of West Virginia, and others. The House Bill, H.R. 3736, was introduced by Representative Robert L. Doughton, of North Carolina. The bill has met difficulty in both Senate and House committees and, as of October 11, was tabled. The bill proposes to provide Federal funds to assure unemployment compensation benefits paid by the state systems up to \$25 a week and for a maximum period of twenty-six weeks. The rewritten Kilgore Bill (S. 1274) extends the present state provisions which vary widely both as to benefits and periods of payment and makes mandatory the coverage of certain Federal employees at Federal expense.

## 3. Wage Standards

A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (S. 1349 and H.R. 3914) proposes to change the minimum wage of 40 cents an hour for those workers in interstate trade and industry covered by the act to 65 cents an hour within a year after the bill becomes a law, 70 cents during the second year, and 75 cents after the expiration of two years. The bill is at present before the Senate Committee on

Education and Labor, and is encountering some strong opposition.

## 4. Housing

S-1342, a comprehensive housing bill sponsored by Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York, and Allen J. Ellender, of Louisiana, is before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. It provides for a ten-year national housing program and emphasizes the extension of public housing and slum clearance and a new program for rural and farm homes. The major portion of the funds to be authorized would be assigned for expansion of public housing for low income groups. The project proposed would be under a national housing agency which would consolidate numerous Federal housing agencies now working in various fields.

## 5. Other Bills

*The permanent F.E.P.C. law* (S. 101 and H.R. 2232) is still waiting action, and the bill is threatened by a filibuster in the Senate. It is encouraging, however, that New York has already passed a bill with similar purpose and other state legislatures are considering anti-discrimination legislation as well.

*Poll tax repeal* (H.R. 7) passed the House, but is stalled in the Senate.

*The Transitional Tax Reduction Bill* was passed by the House on October 11 and sent to the Senate where passage without amendment is anticipated, reducing taxes for both corporations and individuals. As its name implies, this is a temporary measure devised to take effect in 1946.

*UNRRA Appropriation.* The question of a second appropriation for the work relief and rehabilitation in Europe is once again before us. Reasons why this appropriation should be urged are discussed on the editorial pages of this issue.

Copies of bills may be secured from Senate or Representatives, addressed at The Senate House Office Buildings, at the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

## The Strategy of Christendom

(Continued from page 7)

distinguished in order that we may see how they *do* belong together. In pronouncements of Church leaders and assemblies they are very often confused. Church leaders tend often to make pronouncements about the problems of secular society, where they have neither competence nor authority, and to neglect the area of Church community, which really belongs to their care. During these last years the air has been full of demands to "rebuild society on a Christian basis," to "seek a Christian solution for current problems." These demands cut no ice at all, if only because "society" accepts no Christian allegiance, and has extreme difficulty ordering its life on approximate justice, to say nothing of the Sermon on the Mount. It would be at once more impressive and more effective if the demands made by Church leaders and Church assemblies were demands on themselves and their own members, in terms of an allegiance to Christ which the Church already accepts.

For example, there is a great gulf fixed between the exalted Christian demands which we make on secular society, and the failure to embody even bare justice in our economic dealings with one another within the committed fellowship. The protest of the community movement in Britain is against the continuance within the Church of radical differences of income and economic privilege. While these do continue, not only do our Christian demands on secular society have a phony ring, but those minorities who dislike words divorced from action will form their pioneering groups on the periphery of the Church or right outside it.

To write down the value of Church pronouncements about secular affairs, of course, is not to deny that there are values to be sought in economic and political life. But it is far less important to make pronouncements about them than to

teach our people to go after them. This they can do only by the normal processes of industrial organization, political work, and economic change. It ought to be part of our strategy right here to recover the Reformation doctrine of the "calling," teaching Christians to see that just as a Christian bootmaker is, in the first place, a good bootmaker, so a Christian politician is, in the first place, a good politician.

He will be distinguished from other men, not because he serves different (Christian) ends by different (Christian) means, but because, being a Christian, he is more active and sacrificial in the service of ordinary political ends by ordinary political means.

One sign that our strategy is inadequate at this point—I am speaking, of course, in Britain—is that most young Christians of devotion and daring find it far more easy to see their calling in the "professional" Christian field, as ministers or youth leaders or missionaries or what not, than as dentists and industrialists, farmers and lawyers, chemists and trade-union workers. The considerable number of veterans who are volunteering for the ministry represent only in part a valid Christian conviction. They also represent our failure to exalt the secular calling and to train men to follow it. Yet the *only* way in which ultimately the Church can impact in a godly fashion upon the life of society is through its members in their callings. That is a platitude if ever there was one, but does the number of our pronouncements not in fact vary in inverse ratio with the real political and social effectiveness of our members?

"Let the Church be the Church," then, for in its own integrity does lie its ultimate security. But for the Church to be the Church in any full and organic sense involves a concern not only with doctrine and liturgy and social duty, but with doctrine and liturgy, community and society—all these at once and together.



# Sanctuary

## For a Service of Rededication

Let us form a brotherhood,  
A brotherhood of men;  
Men who will not kill . . .  
Let us purge this world:  
Its hate;  
Its greed;  
Its envious bigoted men;  
Its intense nationalism . . .

Let us achieve: freedom for all;  
Peace for all; food for all;  
Life for all; love for all; . . .  
A word of power,  
A word of hope,  
Humanity,  
Will place us all in the sun  
One for all and all for one.

Gerald Johnson

### Call to Worship:

*Minister:* "God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause his face to shine upon us;

*People:* "That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations."

*Minister:* "O let the nations be glad and sing for joy: for thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth."

*People:* "Then shall the earth yield her increase; and God, even our own God, shall bless us. God shall bless us; and all the ends of the earth shall fear him."

### Prayer of Invocation:

O God, who rulest the worlds from end to end and from everlasting to everlasting, speak to our hearts when courage fails, and men faint for fear, and the love of man grows cold, and there is distress of the nations upon earth. Keep us resolute and steadfast in the things that cannot be shaken, abounding in hope and knowing that our labor is not in vain in thee. Restore our faith in the omnipotence of good; renew in us the love which never faileth; and help us to lift up our eyes and behold beyond the things which are seen and temporal, the things which are unseen and eternal. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

### A Creed:

We believe that God is a spirit and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.

We believe that God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth.

We believe that God is love, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.

We believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

We believe that Jesus is "the way, the truth, and the life."

We believe that if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another.

We believe that, if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.

We believe that the world passeth away, and the lust thereof; but that he that doeth the will of God abideth forever.

### **Litany of Intercession:\***

God of our fathers, and Father of all mankind, direct us, we beseech thee, in this hour of testing.

In humility, O God, we bring the results of our labor, a charter for the United Nations. Accept it, our Father, unworthy though it be, as a token of our resolve that the good earth shall know the plowshare and the pruning hook, and we thy sons shall know sword and spear no more. In the light of thy righteousness, the work of our hands is full of imperfection; but our labors are filled with hope.

#### **GRANT US WISDOM:**

"To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small";

*Dear Lord, we pray thee.*

#### **GIVE US INSIGHT:**

"To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained";

*Dear Lord, we pray thee.*

#### **STRENGTHEN OUR WILL:**

"To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom";

*Dear Lord, we pray thee.*

#### **CONFIRM OUR RESOLVE:**

"To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors";

*Dear Lord, we pray thee.*

#### **MAKE STRONG OUR DESIRE:**

"To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, to insure . . . that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples";

*Dear Lord, we pray thee.*

Bless and guide the representatives of the people of the United States of America. May the good of the world be decisive in each and every vote. May the Spirit incarnate in the One who died upon the cross, and the courage revealed by our soldier sons who sleep beneath the crosses, be present in this hour of testing.

Grant, O God, to the American people the greatness promised by our blessed Lord to those who become the servant of all. Amen.

\* Adapted from "A Prayer for an Hour of Decision." The sections within quotations are from the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. Written by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

## The Evangelical Church in Germany

(Continued from page 9)

they reach the right conviction they will bring no less sacrifices for it than for the wrong one they have served hitherto.

2. The neutrals, or the Middle Party, are those members of the Church laymen, or above all, the clergy, who evaded taking up a clear position under the Hitler regime because they were afraid that it would be avenged on the Church or on themselves personally. Thus the bishops of the Intact Churches feared to draw down Hitler's wrath by making a clear stand, and therefore they remained entirely, or as far as possible, out of the struggle. The clergy who withdrew from the struggle mostly did so out of fear that they would lose their salaries and their posts and thus bring their families into difficulties. It was for this reason that so many of the elder clergy belonged to this undecided group; others did so out of diplomacy, thinking that the Nazis could be deceived by skillful tactics.

The result of all this was that Hitler could transgress with comparative impunity against the real opponents of his regime in the Church. Except D. Wurm, for example, no bishop took any part in an action for my release. This group of neutrals represents the leading group in the Evangelical Church of Germany. And here lies the real Church problem. Nothing can be achieved by neutrals, in the Church less than elsewhere. They will evade all real decisions and will hinder all real activity in the Church, so that they can say in any change of rule, "We have remained pure!" One can work with honorable opponents who change their opinions, but never with people who seek for security at all costs! Under such a neutral leading, the Evangelical Church will become an organization that will lay hold on special questions and try to keep in step with other social organizations

such as trade-unions and social welfare. But it will never be seriously able to bring about a spiritual rebirth of our nation on the basis of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; for they never said anything against Nazism and therefore they can not be believed if they speak today!

3. The Confessional Church and the clergy of the Emergency League represent the great majority of all Evangelical Christians in Germany in so far as they take an active part in Church life. Church elections were held on the basis of old ecclesiastical ordinances, though they would certainly get the entire leadership of the Church into their hands. In reality, however, they do not hold this leadership anywhere at present, as the Nazis admitted only German Christians and neutrals to leadership. If the occupying force state today, "We shall not interfere with the internal Church affairs," these conditions remain as they were under Hitler with the sole difference that the German Christians are disappearing, and are being replaced by the still more dangerous neutrals. A really just constitution will be possible only when the Churches have new elections. The present neutral leaders are not interested in this, as at that moment their rule would be over. They will not press for new elections. But neither can the Confessional Church answer for elections at the moment, because the young clergy are not yet home from imprisonment—an especially important point for the Intact Churches! In reality, however, the Confessional Church is the only Evangelical Church group that has not lost its right to be believed in. It was the clergy and the laymen of the Confessional Church whom Hitler shut up in concentration camps, and it was the clergy and laymen of the Confessional Church who nevertheless did not cease to preach clearly the irreconcilability of the Christian faith and Nazi principles. For this reason the Protestants of Germany rely on the message of the Confessional Church.



and hope that it will continue to show them the true way of the Gospel. This is the only possibility of helping the German nation to spiritual rebirth.

### Suggestions

The main thing is that the Confessional Church should get an opportunity that it does not have at present. If one of the present "bishops" arranges a conference of Evangelical Church leaders, Pastor Niemoeller, for example, will not be able to attend, though he is definitely recognized as the leader of the German Church by all Evangelical Christians in Germany and elsewhere, because he is only a simple pastor, who is prevented from carrying out his office at present because his parish lies in the Russian occupied area.

In the meanwhile, to wait longer conceals great dangers. Evangelical Church folk are getting the impression that the occupying forces are supporting the neutrals and do not wish to have anything to do with the Confessional Church. They ask, for instance, why I was restrained for two months while my opponents can work in full freedom. They are surprised at hearing nothing from me now that at last I am free; they are surprised that the radio has stated that I am in Switzerland, whereas now it comes out that I am in Frankfurt or Bavaria and am apparently making no effort to represent and to further the cause for the sake of which I was Hitler's prisoner for eight years. The old rumor that I have become Catholic is gaining fresh ground, and my friends are beginning to make decisions on their own responsibility.

The most urgent and important thing for me, therefore, is to call together the members of the Brethren's Council, or at least those who are in the American, British, and French zones. That Council is the Church leadership constituted by the Confessional Church under the Hitler regime, but which was never recognized by the Nazi State. They must come to a de-

cision as to what is to be done now. In the Confessional Church there is no principle of leadership, and I have never been, because of my office, more than a member of the Brethren's Council together with a few dozen others. The Confessional Church has always fought for, and held firmly to, the synodal principle, or, as might be said, to the democratic principle. That shall never be altered with my consent.

Secondly, a possibility must be created of letting these leaders of the Confessional Church have their resolutions and messages printed so that they can reach their congregations; and this must also be made possible.

Thirdly, occupying forces must be approached with a view to releasing young anti-Nazi clergy who are still in PW camps.

Fourthly, the problem must be solved of how the Confessional Church can obtain possession of at least the finances that were confiscated by the Nazis as enemy property. At the time of my imprisonment alone in 1937, this amounted to about 30,000 marks!

Finally, Church elections must be prepared by the Confessional Church as quickly as possible, so that adequate leadership may be set up for all the Provincial Churches as befits faith and ecclesiastical rights.

### Conclusion

This memorandum is to go to the headquarters of all the four occupying powers, as well as to the central military Government of the United Powers in Berlin.

I am very willing to act on the suggestions made, so far as I am given the opportunity, and to answer all questions that may be made thereon. I am convinced that the way of the Confessional Church offers the only possibility of leading to a true rebirth of spiritual life in our nation in the sphere of the Evangelical Church. Frankfurt am Main, July 20, 1945.

(Signed) *Martin Niemoeller, D.D.*

# The Workshop

## **Adventure in Christian Fellowship.**

Young people's groups, during the coming months, will again have an opportunity for an Adventure in Christian Fellowship. The Westminster Fellowship (Presbyterian young people's) groups that do the most exciting and practical things in building bridges of understanding and fellowship between groups that differ in race, creed, or nationality will receive scholarships to send delegates to summer conferences, caravans, or work conferences.

In the summer of 1945, five groups received awards of \$30 each, enabling a number of young people to share in summer enterprises who otherwise would have been deprived of the privilege.

For 1946 the awards will be made in two classes: Awards of \$50, requiring certain projects that go beyond the minimum requirements of three events in the area of information, education, and inspiration, which are necessary for a group to qualify for a \$30 award.

Watch for complete details in the next issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Resource materials will be provided through the courtesy of the National Conference of Christians and Jews through whom the scholarship funds are made available.

The project is sponsored jointly by the Department of Social Education and Action and by the Summer Conference office of the Board of Christian Education.

For further information, write to Rev. Gilbert F. Close, Jr., Director of Summer Conferences, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

**S.E.A. Activities at McCormick Seminary.** The Committee on Social Education and Action of McCormick Theological Seminary, now entering its third year of activity, represents an effort on the part of students to relate their theological studies

to the issues and problems of contemporary life.

In order to give themselves and other students a better understanding of current social issues the committee carries on such activities as these:

1. They have co-operated with the Committee on Social Education and Action of the Presbytery of Chicago in sponsoring: Church, Labor, and Management Conference, and a World Order Conference. The conferences were attended by both seminary students and Chicago Presbyterians.

2. They have brought to the campus outstanding labor and Negro leaders for addresses and discussions.

3. They have conducted field trips through the worst slums of the city; through a Public Housing Project where they visited in the homes of families who formerly lived in slum buildings; to newspaper offices and settlement houses in the Negro community; to a Japanese-American hostel; to the offices of several leading unions and to the office of the War Labor Board. Each visit was planned so as to provide ample time for discussion.

4. Current pamphlets on social issues are distributed regularly and reviewed in the daily bulletin.

5. The faculty and students are encouraged to participate in the program of various local organizations working for social justice, and are kept informed of their activities.

Like many other groups the committee finds action more difficult than education. Whenever crucial issues are being decided in Congress or in the state legislature, the committee issues a social action bulletin which describes the bill under consideration, explains the present status of the bill in the two houses or in committees, tells which local Congressmen have committed themselves and how they stand, and urges that either letters or telegrams be sent to certain people. Thirty-five telegrams were

sent from the campus on one issue, and on another occasion a student was sent to the state capital in behalf of a Fair Employment Practices bill.

**Bridgebuilding.** The following statement of purpose and suggestions was prepared by the forty-two members of a class on "Building Bridges Between Groups That Differ" at the Blair III Young People's Conference, summer, 1945, and presented to the entire conference body to be submitted in turn by them for consideration by the Churches represented by them.

*We believe*, as Christian young people, that it is our duty to be bridgebuilders between groups that differ, to create harmony and eliminate prejudices, and to promote fellowship in obedience to Christ's commandment, "That ye love one another, even as I have loved you."

*We further believe that:*

Any word, attitude, or deed, which intimidates, insults, or injures any person is un-Christian; and that

Any arrangement of life which limits, excludes, hinders, or restricts any person is un-Christian.

As our part in "Building Bridges Between Groups That Differ," we commit ourselves to do our very best in carrying out the following course of action.

1. To provide exchange visits between Negro and white groups through the young people's societies of our Churches.

2. To invite Negroes to become members of our young people's societies, the Church School, and the Church.

3. To make personal contacts and friendships across racial lines.

4. To enlist the support of our Churches in our efforts to eliminate any discrimination in housing and residential areas.

5. To influence newspapers and magazines which employ discriminatory policy in reporting news to adopt a fair attitude toward racial or religious groups.

6. To listen for radio reports and progress which deliberately or unintentionally

develop unfavorable opinion toward racial or religious groups.

7. To see that theaters do not use discriminatory propaganda features.

8. To investigate the wages paid to Negro employees in the industries and homes of our town.

9. To investigate practices of racial discrimination in our communities: in the movies, on playgrounds, in restaurants, in swimming pools, et cetera.

10. To watch state and federal legislation concerning fair employment practices and equality in education.

**Presbyterians Advocate Ban on Compulsory Arms Duty.** An international agreement outlawing compulsory military service was advocated by the Rochester Presbytery at its annual fall session in Caledonia Presbyterian Church.

Representatives of fifty-three Presbyterian Churches of the area voted unanimously to demand that before the United States adopts compulsory military service the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the personal representative of the President of the United Nations Organization, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., "be and are hereby urged to work unceasingly for an immediate international agreement whereby compulsory military service shall be wholly eliminated from the policies and practices of all nations." It was resolved that a copy of the statement be sent to President Truman.

*Reported in The Democrat and Chronicle, Rochester, New York, September 19, 1945.*

**Seminary Students Study Industrial Relations.** Frank W. McCulloch, director of the Mullenbach Institute in Chicago and an outstanding authority on industrial relations, is teaching a course in the fall term at McCormick Theological Seminary entitled "The Social and Ethical Significance of the Labor Movement." Mr. McCulloch is author of the article "Wage Issues Behind the Strike News," appearing on page 22 of this issue.



## Linked with Suffering Through Science

*(Continued from page 11)*

the food without losing a corresponding amount of weight. Some men began to suffer seriously after a month or so, while others experienced little trouble until the latter part of the semistarvation period. The picture was greatly complicated by the presence of edema, a common symptom of starvation in the form of a watery enlargement of ankles, calves, and other parts of the body. Thus, a man's weight might apparently be on the increase even though his output of calories was greater than his intake, just because of the accumulation of water in his tissues. The Minneapolis experiment has provided an ideal opportunity for the clinical study of edema with a varied group of men, and the findings are of great practical importance in relief work.

There have been many unexpected results of the experiment which have made their appearance in too few individuals to constitute established scientific fact. These nevertheless point the way for future research. Some have found that with their restricted diet has come a freedom from headaches that they had not previously known. For some there has occasionally come a strong feeling of release from the body, sometimes accompanied by a sense of exaltation, perhaps taking a religious form. However, such periods of exhilaration seem to be followed by a disastrous slump. Some have experienced a loss of interest, not only in religion, but also in music and art. Some men have remarked upon a heightened sensitivity to the natural beauty of the out of doors, an increased appreciation of sunsets, and the coming of spring. All experienced a marked drop in body temperature, pulse, and basal metabolism, evidence of a general lowering of all bodily activity.

On August 1, the men entered the re-

habilitation phase of the experiment. They have been divided into carefully matched groups to permit an exacting test of the relative importance of calories, proteins, and vitamins in rehabilitation. There are sixteen different diets, with at least two men taking each dietary combination. Although the final scientific findings will ultimately be presented in nutritional journals, many of the results of the experiment to date are already in the hands of those directly concerned with rehabilitation in Europe. The conditions of starvation have been so well reproduced that men who have directed feeding operations have found the same symptoms of malnutrition in the laboratory that prevail in the famine areas of Europe. "Only this information had been available to us a year earlier."

To the religious agencies who have helped to support the experiment, and who have great interest in the spiritual as well as the physical rehabilitation of those who have borne the full impact of the war, the experiment has many deeper implications. With bodily deterioration has come not only an overpowering lethargy but also increase in irritability and sensitivity to the many minor frictions that are associated with living in close quarters. With some men there has been a decrease in sociability, for social graciousness represents an expenditure of energy which becomes a luxury when every calorie of energy becomes precious. Magnify such tendencies a thousandfold and it becomes easy to appreciate the disappearance in many parts of Europe of all that tends to hold society together. A formidable barrier of resentment will stand in the way of the efforts of many Americans to minister to those who have gone through the hell of this war's suffering; it may be that the demonstration of solidarity and suffering which underlies this experiment will do something to melt that barrier, and open a way for the replanting of love and neighborliness in war-desolated Europe.

## About Books

**Bringing Our World Together**, by Daniel Johnson Fleming. Scribners. 2.00.

Professor Fleming, for many years a member of the faculty of Union Seminary, New York, and before that an educational missionary in India, has written this thrilling study in world community based on the conviction that "the achievement of community is our basic social task."

The first three chapters of the book set the stage for the effort for a Christian world community by reviewing the various factors that have caused man's dispersion and differentiation; then follows a survey of the natural, scientific, and historic factors that have prepared the way for community.

The next four chapters deal with "issues in a world society." In an illuminating chapter on "Enlarging Circles of Consciousness" he reaches the conclusion that man finds his meaning in co-operating with God in shaping the course of history toward the realization of a world family." The key lies in constantly enlarging the circle of those thought of when the word "we" is spoken. Then follow two chapters dealing with the adjustments made necessary by racial and cultural diversities. Regarding ethical issues he discusses such questions as "Is enlightened self-interest a sufficient guide?" and "Does the Christian ethic apply to nations?" He urges the adoption of a higher ethic than self-interest in international relations and successfully answers those who decry aid to less privileged and backward peoples on the ground that such help will cut the nerve of incentive, and in a chapter strikingly illustrated he points out the limitations of the Golden Rule which, he says, in intercultural relations must be interpreted with understanding and imagination.

Two more chapters deal with ways of working together for a better world, followed by an imaginative and practical chapter on ways by which we may learn to think in global terms.

The last two chapters deal with Christianity's contribution toward the coming world community. The author makes use of Professor Latourette's conclusions as to the expansion of Christianity and reminds us that we need to look at it in relation to the long perspective of history set forth in the first chapter. He cites some specific accomplishments of the ecumenical Church, indicative that "a world-wide Christian fellowship is being created." The ecumenical Church is the most indispensable force in bringing our world together.

This is a most hopeful and encouraging book. Dr. Fleming is convinced that the vital forces of the universe are working toward a world-wide brotherhood under God. In 140 pages he has packet background and sermonic material of immense value to all ministers and laymen alike, who are interested in the World Order Movement, missions, and the Restoration Fund. The book concludes with more than fifty questions to stimulate thinking and add to its value for use in group discussions and a brief list of books for supplementary reading.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

**Foreign Policy Begins at Home**, by James P. Warburg. Harcourt. \$2.50.

Mr. Warburg, international banker, "braintruster" in the early days of the New Deal, one of the founders of the Fight for Freedom Committee, and more recently Deputy Director for Propaganda Policy in the OWI, has written a book to show that what we are here at home conditions and determines what we do outside

our borders. Out of a total of twenty-two chapters, the first seven and the last two contribute directly to his purpose. The bulk of the book is largely a chronological account of events leading up to World War II and the War itself up to the invasion of Europe. To anyone who has been reading the papers and magazines during this period, therefore, the greater part of the book has little to offer except a record of these exciting events in an easily accessible form.

When he sticks to his thesis, Mr. Warburg makes a good case. His contention that the central problem of our foreign and domestic policy is common to our ordinary everyday lives needs to be brought home to the great mass of American people in these days of peacemaking. "The most important votes cast by the free citizens of a democracy are not cast at the polls; they are cast each and every day in the course of ordinary life."

The early chapters give a good analysis of fascism and its causes. "Runaway capitalism" he sees as the most dangerous to America. "We have reached the point where we must finally harness the material energies of capitalism to the ethical principles in which we believe for the common good of society as a whole; or else face the strong likelihood of a fascist era."

Chapter 7, on "Domestic Prerequisites of Peace," is undoubtedly the most important. He calls for recognition that those who use the tools of production (labor) are partners rather than hirelings of those who own the tools (capital) and that both labor and capital have a responsibility to society as a whole. He sees that free enterprise will not endure unless it can provide full employment; that there cannot be full employment unless there is full production; that there cannot be full production without full consumption; that there cannot be full consumption without purchasing power by potential consumers; that there is no way of creating purchasing power except by production. We have a

choice to make that cannot be long postponed; either we must accept the class conflict as inevitable and take our place on one side or the other; or else we must abolish the injustice which causes the class conflict to exist.

No foundation can be laid for peace without the full co-operation of America. Our ability to co-operate wholeheartedly depends on our undertaking long-overdue reforms at home which will make possible full production, full employment, better nutrition, housing, medical care, and education for all Americans.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

**Universal Military Training and National Security.** *The Annals*, issued September, 1945. American Academy of Political and Social Science. Paper \$2.00.

The question of universal military training, or compulsory military training, peacetime conscription, as it is variously called, already has been widely discussed in the press, over the radio, in congressional hearings, and around discussion tables. The issues are sharply drawn. Bills are before Congress. Those who are concerned about the outcome of the proposals but who feel the need of more exact information will welcome this issue of *The Annals*. With the usual thoroughness the subject is treated under five headings: (1) Background; (2) Military Considerations; (3) Cultural Considerations; (4) Alternatives; (5) Security Plans Among Other Great Powers. E.G.R.

**The Church and the Returning Soldier**, by Roy A. Burkhardt. Harper \$2.00.

The returning serviceman—the first time you see him in Church and talk at length with him in his home or yours around the Church—presents the immediate challenge of a generation to ev-



churchman. How one wants to achieve support, be of use, avoid tactlessness and finality, capture his adjusting personality, and bind him to "the stormy north-land of Christ" and the Church! There is a spurt of joy in welcome and in having him around again, but there are self-conscious questionings too about how you and your Church are measuring up to what he counts to his scrutiny from a new frame of reference that wants the home front "to show him something." Multitudinous interests and organizations will be bidding for him; his life is up for sale and someone is going to buy him. Will it be the Church? Or will it be some group that keeps him veteran-conscious, makes a fatal division between him and the nation, and prevents reintegration into a well-rounded civilian life? Satisfying fellowship and activity, built around his interests and leading him into identification with his community (from close-up local needs to world order and the Kingdom), are the keys to full Christian dedication. He must be helped to see the Church as a great company of Christ's followers committed to a vast redemptive mission of love.

So ably argues Dr. Burkhardt who, out of rich experience and success, understandingly describes the mind of the soldier, how to counsel with him, shape the specific programs, and present the claims of the Church. Emphatically it cannot be the conventional Church of yesterday in its life rut of conferring comfort on a static, self-regarding parish membership, with unattractive worship and slipshod education on Sundays and a faithful dozen Wednesday nights. Narrow denominationalism must go, other Churches and the immediate community discovered in cooperation. Individuals saved by belief in Jesus Christ, yes! but belonging profoundly one to another, and as a Church acting simultaneously as reservoir, pumping station, and channel of God's power flowing out in conscience, love, service,

social righteousness that bless and lift life to Him.

One cannot escape the vibrant quality of Dr. Burkhardt's faith, his surging love of people and apparent genius for devising programs to enlist their enthusiasm. The book is an unusual combination of skillful counseling, practical methods, and a truly prophetic presentation of the living ecumenical Church of tomorrow—and tomorrow is here, now! The volume can easily be read in three hours, but your margins will be crowded enough with homiletical jottings and program ideas to require a long session of God. The man is something of a religious maverick and unrepentant liberal, but withal a most persuasive practitioner of the inner reality of Christ in the common life: "The Church is the fellowship of those who live, not to seek the satisfactions of their separate selves, but to fulfill God's will in their souls and to extend His Kingdom upon earth."

RALPH N. MOULD

**Distinguished American Jews**, edited by P. Henry Lotz. Association Press. \$1.50.

This is Volume VI in the series "Creative Personalities." Seven writers in addition to Dr. Lotz have contributed biographical sketches of a dozen outstanding Jewish men and women in American life who have brought honor to themselves and their race by their distinguished contributions in as many fields. Here is a book that is a timely antidote for anti-Semitism and an inspiration to those struggling against odds. Here is encouragement for those eager to foster individual initiative and enterprise. One is impressed by the number of these who have been immigrants from Europe.

Adolph S. Ochs is presented as a merchant of news who made *The New York Times* America's most distinguished newspaper. Lillian Wald represents the profession of nursing with broad ramifications

into the Henry Street Settlement, public-health service, school nursing, and the Children's Bureau. Charney Vladeck, an exile from czarist oppression, became a warrior for human rights, editor of the Jewish *Forward*, and a Socialist member of the New York City Council. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, who has always been a fearless fighter for a free pulpit, represents the clergy.

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One wishes that these writers had been more specific regarding the religious motivation and practice of their subjects. This seems largely passed over apparently on the assumption that humanism and a religion of "doing good" are enough. That is not to detract from the lives here presented nor from the uniformly fine job of

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